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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to report on part of a research study designed to learn about the interrelationships of racial conflict, change in the institutionalization of social power within an educational system, and adaptive organization of the black community within Newark, New Jersey between 1958 and 1972. The central fact informing the participation of the black community in educational affairs of Newark is that power is institutionalized, as are the rules which govern and influence the educational system. The significant question then becomes how did the black community, between 1958 and 1972, organize to deal with this fact, and with what success. The approach adopted here features an orientation toward black group survival, and successful adaptation with scarce resources, within a particular situational context. The emergent organizational structure and the strategic designs for inducing social change created by the black community, while coping with the pattern of environmental stress of particular situational conditions and forces, are the dominant orientations of this approach. The consequences of black participation in a particular sphere of public policy determination, and the processes and structures contributing to such consequences, were the focus of this work. (Author/JM)

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CONFLICT, ADAPTIVE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION, AND EDUCATIONAL PARTICIPATION *

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> POWER concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them; and these will continue till they have resisted either with words or blows or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they suppress.....
>
> Frederick Douglass (1849)

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to report on part of a research study designed to learn about the interrelationships of racial conflict, change in the institutionalization of social power within an educational system, and adaptive organization of a Black community. Newark, New Jersey, is the metropolity within which the Black community studied is located. The period of time covered is between 1958 and 1972.

Discontent with the schools is and has been endemic and epidemic among the Black residents of Newark. Basically, this

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discontent rests upon the belief and even the experiential knowledge that, in the public life of their community, Blacks experience, when contrasted with non-Blacks, unusual provocation and difficulty in transforming collective preference into effective policy. Because of, at the least, the accompanying belief in the operation of a pervasive racism in the city and the reality that numerically Newark is on the verge of becoming Black-dominated, the term "the Black community" is to be understood broadly as including all those who subscribe to and act in concert with the explicit and implicit educational interests of Newark Blacks. The critical element permitting this reification of the concept is the presumption of a state of awareness or consciousness and a collective solidarity in respect to basic group values and goals, created and nurtured out of the recognition of the common fate of being Black in Newark. This focus, it bears repeating, is narrowly trained upon the formally organized educational institution; other possible dimensions of the concept "the Black community" are considered only in that they bear significantly upon or have implication for the educational institution. With respect to educational issues the Black citizens of Newark generally exhibit symbolic expressions of their solidarity; are commonly treated as a collectivity by non-Blacks; display elements of a common style of life, norms, and values; and tend to enjoy a relatively high rate of interaction among themselves. These features in combination justify the use of the concept "community" in referring in

this context to the Black residents of Newark.

The central fact informing the participation of the Black community in educational affairs of Newark is that power is institutionalized, as are the rules which govern and influence the educational system. The significant question then becomes how did the Black community, between 1958 to 1972, organize to deal with this fact, and with what success?

Rather than approaching the Black community from the customary social science orientations of psychopathology, disorganization, and deviance, my approach features an orientation toward Black group survival, and successful adaptation with scarce resources, within a particular situational context. The emergent organizational structure and the strategic designs for inducing social change created by the Black community, while coping with the pattern of environmental stress of particular situational conditions and forces, are the dominant orientations of this approach.

Much controversy surrounds the systematic study of the common unity of Black brothers and sisters living in urban areas (McClure 1974; Wilson 1971). I say plainly that questions were not raised about differential Black participation rates, under and over-participation by Blacks, areal limitation on Black participation, racial or ethnic identity and participation, comparison of Black with white participation patterns, or the consequences of metropolitan reorganization for Blacks. The consequences of Black

participation in a particular sphere of public policy determination, and the processes and structures contributing to such consequences were the focus of this work.

Critical Events

Black participation in educational affairs in Newark ordinarily meets perfectly what Bullock (1970) calls the traditional national educational policy directed toward racial accommodation, stabilization of the status quo (Black subordination to white), segregation, or special education. However, several specific events were played out in Newark during the 1960 decade whose emphases were upon, in varying combinations, protest, dissent, declaration of grievance and demands for relief, conflict, and violence. These events mark, at the same time, stages of the movement toward mobilization or revitalization of the Black community. They pinpoint, in particular, a shift toward the acceptance of the idea of supremacy of Black group over Black individual interests, the emergence of new forms of leadership, the development of a style of public engagement uniquely featuring the tactics of obstruction and provocative confrontation, the mastery of the arts and skills requisite for successful participation in a pluralistic urban setting, and an organizational structure designed to facilitate the obtaining of prevailing control, at the least, of the educational institution of Newark.

The selection of critical events is both subjective and arbitrary. Criteria of selection are that, in addition to the

reflective judgment of the researcher, the event be defined by the Black community as significant for Black group objectives; that collective positions and actions are undertaken by representatives of the Black community; and that the consequences of the event permit sociological interpretation of some penetration into what routinely may be considered everyday perspectives.

The eleven events considered critical for the mobilization and revitalization of the Black community of Newark between 1958 and 1972 are:

1. the pattern of litigation and administrative decisions involving the Board of Education;
2. the 1962 campaign and subsequent defeat of Leo J.Carlin by Hugh J.Addonizio for the office of mayor;
3. the colonization, and ensuing work, of a grassroots movement of the Students for Democratic Society (SDS) called the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP) during the summer of 1964;
4. the aggregate programs of then President Lyndon B. Johnson's so-called War on Poverty;
5. the homecoming of Leroi Jones, sometime in 1966, and his evolutionary development of a Black social movement;
6. the mayoral campaign, and loss, of Kenneth Gibson to Hugh J.Addonizio in 1966;
7. The Parker-Callahan affair of 1967;
8. the Black rebellion, and its malevolent repression of July 1967;
9. the 1970 contract negotiations, strike, and eventual settlement between the Newark Teacher Union (NTU), an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, and the Newark Board of Education;
10. the election of Kenneth Gibson as Newark's first Black mayor in June 1970; and

11. the appointment by Mayor Gibson in June 1971 of 17-year-old Lawrence Hamm (Adhimu Chunga) to the Newark Board of Education.

Singly, the interpretative significance of these eleven events designated as critical for the Black community between 1958 and 1971 may be reasonably questioned. Collectively, however, they only can be interpreted as demonstrating cumulatively the defensive structuring (Siegal, 1970) as well as the revitalization (Wallace, 1956) of community life for Newark Blacks during a period of extreme environmental stress.

Three threads of continuity permeated the analysis of all eleven critical events. First, they reveal the existence of a purposive strategy of community reorganization. Second, they exhibit resonance with an ideology of decolonization--a formal and informal socialization process based upon the refusal to allow the "enemy" to define the problems of and the solutions for the Black community. Finally, the events demonstrate the development of a functional form of leadership involving a precise frame of reference, a puritanical disciplinary zeal or the secular experience of self-transcendence common in revolutionaries, historical revisionism, unity of thought and action, and an overwhelming sense of urgency.

Organizational Participation

The critical events described in the previous section demonstrate the presence of a normative system as well as an organized social structure in the Black community of Newark. Voluntary

associations are considered here to be the basic units of this adaptive structure; in this context, voluntary associations which engage in actions designed openly or specifically to influence and determine public educational policy. This typical associational structure of the Black community in the United States, in contrast with the ascriptive based (i.e., kinship and locale-based) patterns of other racial and ethnic groups and that found in other cultural systems, probably has direct implication for the nature of social solidarity or functional integration of the Newark Black community as well as its pattern of participation in educational policy determination. The organizational structure made up of a plurality of competing voluntary associations may serve to atomize and demoralize rather than to function integratively (Light, 1972).

The arena providing the formal setting for educational policy determination in Newark is the public meeting of the Board of Education. It is not argued that this social setting is the only one allowing or permitting participation in public educational policy determination. Other settings, for example, are committee meetings of the Board of Education, meetings of the City Council, meetings of the Board of School Estimate as well as innumerable informal and even covert face-to-face encounters, conferences, luncheons, dinners, etc. Emphasis in this analysis, however, is mainly placed upon the formal scenario of the public meetings of the Board of Education.

Participation of voluntary associations in public life

denotes acceptance of the norms of collective representativeness and of organizational management. It implies the acceptance of the value of social parity, a recognition of common humanity, in which distinctions of ethnicity and skill are not to be taken as symbols of subordination. Participation further implies willingness to share the experiences and hazards of life (Wax, 1972). In this particular context, organizational participation in educational policy determination means an instrumentality used by Blacks to confront institutional racism--the operating policies, priorities, and functions of the educational institution of Newark, conceived as an ongoing system of normative patterns which serve to subjugate, oppress and force dependence of individuals or groups by: (1) establishing and sanctioning unequal goals; and (2) sanctioning inequality in status as well as in access to goods and services (Ladner, 1972; 265).

Between 1958 and 1971, 102 voluntary associations representing the perceived interests of the Black community appeared before, or participated in, the public meetings of the Board of Education. These voluntary associations represented 11% of all organizations appearing during this period of time. A few organizations appeared before the Board of Education whose membership was racially mixed. Such organizations, however, are usually predominately Black in membership, and they always express commitment to the goals or interests of the Black community and are therefore included in the following analysis.

The education component of Model Cities is not included as a voluntary association, but its exception is worthy of note. This unit of an agency of city government never appeared before the Board of Education in public meeting. Nevertheless, it is constantly involved in several aspects of school programming. For example, the Community Development Administration (CDA), the parent administrative agency for Model Cities, has contracts with the Board of Education and is continually involved in the negotiations of other contracts. The significance of this exception is that it illustrates another kind of participation by the Black community in educational policy determination. The staff of Model Cities is almost entirely Black.

The 102 voluntary associations making up the observed organizational structure of the Black community participating in educational policy determination are grouped in TABLE 1 by the characteristics of scope or areal affiliation, single or multiple-purpose, and a Black frame of reference (Gordon and Babchuk, 1959). Scope or areal affiliation refers to whether an organization has predominately a local or predominately a national territoriality. Single or multiple-purpose concerns the primary goal or objective orientation of the organization. A Black frame of reference is best understood by the assumption of a position suggested by the words accommodation, assimilation and integration or by the assumption of a contrasting position suggested by the words decolonization, liberation, separatism, or nationalism.

Most of the Black organizations attempting to participate in educational policy-making between 1958 and 1971 were of local origin, had multiple objectives, and tended to occupy an integrationist or non-militant position. A definite minority of those Black organizations attempting to become involved in educational decision-making presented a radical or militant stance, confined themselves solely to a single goal or objective, and had broad national or international connections. Two other characteristics of these two categories of organizations deserve mention.

The larger portion of the organizations as described above, Type I, tended to be heterogenecus in terms of membership exclusiveness or inclusiveness. That is, both inclusive or open membership is observed as well as closed, elite or exclusive membership among the organizations of this category. Thus an Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority and a Frontiers of America Club are found with a Day Care Council and a Columbus Home Tenants Association. The smaller category of organizations, Type II, on the other hand tends to be homogeneous with respect to inclusiveness. No high status, privileged or elite constituents seem to be sought after by these latter organizations.

The second observation about these two categories of organizations concerns societal organization or ideological position. Type I organizations tend to be normative oriented; that is, basically their rationale for existence rests on accepting the fundamental value system of American society but directing their

efforts to change, reform, and making it work. Type II organizations, in contrast, tend to dispute the legitimacy of the basic societal values regarding the role and place of Blacks in American society. Thus, the United Brothers and the Congress of African Peoples differ drastically in many essentials relevant to educational issues from organizations such as the NAACP and the Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council.

TABLE 1

BLACK VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS BY SCOPE OF AFFILIATION, PURPOSE, AND FRAME OF REFERENCE--1958-1971

	Integration		Black Liberation	
	local	non-local	local	non-local
Single Purpose Education	*Robert Treat School Council Area Board 3 Educational Task Force Parents' Group Area Board 3 Newark Pre-school Council O.N.E. Camp Title I Citizens' Committee for Equality in Education Crusade for Learning Day Care Council Springfield Avenue Community School Project W.H.O.	Title I M.A.R.C.	African Free School Black Student Council African Education Alliance Student Federation Arts High School Student Council Central High School Debating Team S.A.S.S. Newark Student Union Central High School Student Council	
Multi-Purpose	Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council Holy Temple First Mt. Zion Baptist Church Trinity Methodist Church Baptist Ministers' Conference Weequahic Community Council Columbus Homes Tenants St. James AME Concerned Citizens Coalition	*C.O.R.E. N.A.A.C.P. A.K.A. Sorority Frontiers of America U.C.C. National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.	Black Man's Army of Liberation Labor Negro Vanguard Youth Organized Behind the Question of Blackness United Brothers Newark Community Coalition Black Women's Union C.-F.U.N.	Congress of African Peoples

*These two organizations in the later sixties would be in the Black Liberation category.

TABLE 1 (cont'd.)

	Integration		Black Liberation	
	local	non-local	local	non-local
ulti-rpose	Hayes Homes Tenants A. Washington Civic Association Young Citizens for Racial Equality C. Attucks Society South Newark Ministers B.I.C.C. Miller Street Community Council Newark Organization of Civil Rights Gibson Civic Association Area Board 2 Newark Business League United Presbyterian Church Area Board 5 House of Prayer Committee for Negro Progress Presbyterian Community Center Peoples' Action Group Kelley Civic Association Area Board 2 Operation We Care Payne Civic Association Area Board 4 Peoples' Action Group Elizabeth Avenue Presbyterian Church Newark Human Rights Macedonia AME Church Wright Homes Association T.E.A.M. Newark Branch National Alliance of Postal Workers	Joint Committee of Human Rights of Greek Letter Sororities and Fraternities Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority N.J. Branch of the National Association of College Women Women's League of New Jersey Phi Delta Kappa Sorority Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity N.J. Chapter of Florida A & M University		

TABLE 1 (cont'd.)

	Integration		Black Liberation	
	local	non-local	local	non-local
ulti-rpose	Central Ward Youth Concerns Committee Trinidad Ministry Model Cities Housing Task Force Meeker Avenue Neighborhood Camp Social Concerns Committee Trinidad Methodist Church Peshine Avenue Neighborhood Council Friendly Neighborhood Guild Fuld Neighborhood House Springfield Avenue Association United Ministerial Alliance for Progress Bock Avenue Block Association Sterling Street Block Association Weequahic Presbyterian Church Arthur Jones Association Inter-racial Council for Business Opportunity Community Information and Referral Center Shepard Avenue Block Association 12th Street Block Association South Ward Social Civic Association Central Ward Athletic League South Ward Voters League Independent Negro Teacher Political Association Central Newark Community Council			

TABLE 2 presents the pattern of participation of the 102 Black organizations by school year. Careful examination shows that the organizations composing the Type II category tended to become active late in the time period under study. The 17 organizations in this category were particularly active during the last five years of the period from 1967 to 1971. This was also the period of the greatest participation by all of the Black organizations. In 1966-67, 37 organizations made 92 appearances before the Board of Education while in the previous year only 8 organizations appeared for a total of 22 times. The 1966-67 school year attracted intense interest from the Black community primarily because of the Parker-Callahan controversy. This issue was the most frequently raised one during 1966-67. All of the involvement with this issue on the part of the Black organizations was in support of the Black candidate, Parker, with CORE and ONE in the vanguard. This episode is one of the first examples of unity of view and action by the Black community. Issues such as the need for new school buildings, less crowded classrooms, and more and better equipment and materials always existed and there is always agreement concerning these needs. However, individual school groups or Parent Teacher Associations (PTA's) usually raise these issues in terms of their particular schools and neighborhoods.

TABLE 2

Number of Presentations by Black Organizations at Public Board of Education Meetings, by Fiscal Year

Name of Organization	58-9	59-60	60-1	61-2	62-3	63-4	64-5	65-6	66-7	67-8	68-9	69-70	70-1	Tota
Meeker Avenue Neighborhood Camp	1													1
Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council	6	15	13	10	8	6	6	2	3			1		70
Social Concerns Committee Trinity Methodist Church	1													1
N.A.A.C.P.	1	5	7	3	8	11	6	2		3	2	7	2	57
Holy Temple Church of God in Christ		1												1
First Mt. Zion Baptist Church		1	1											2
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company		1												1
Trinity Methodist Church		1	1	2					3		1			8
Alpha Kappa Alpha		1									1			2
Central Newark Community Council		1												1
Baptist Ministers' Conference		1							1					2
Citizens' Committee for Equality in Education		1	3	1	2									7
Joint Committee of Human Rights of Greek Letter Sororities and Fraternities		2												2
Peshine Avenue Neighborhood Council			1											1
Friendly Neighborhood Guild			1											1
Lambda Kappa Mu Sorority Epsilon Chapter			1											1
Columbus Homes Tenants			1											1
N. J. Branch of the National Association of College Women			1											1

TABLE 2 (cont'd.)

Name of Organization	58-9	59-60	60-1	61-2	62-3	63-4	64-5	65-6	66-7	67-8	68-9	69-70	70-1	Total
Women's League of New Jersey			1											1
St. James AME Church			2											2
Hayes Homes Tenants			1	2	1	1								5
Weequahic Community Council			3	1	2	5	2	4	1			1	1	20
Fuld Neighborhood House		1										1		2
Robert Treat School Council			3									18		21
Frontiers of America			1	1	2									4
South Newark Ministers			1											1
Wright Homes Association				4										4
Trinidad Ministry of Education and Culture				2										2
Springfield Avenue Association				2										2
Phi Delta Kappa				1										1
Central Ward Youth Coordinating Committee					2									2
Payne Civic Association					3		1							4
National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs					1									1
United Ministerial Alliance for Progress					3	1								4
Macedonia AME Church					2				1					3
Newark Human Rights Commission					1				7	8	4	5	5	30
Elizabeth Avenue Presbyterian Church						1								1
C.O.R.E.						1	7	9	29	21	15	1		83
House of Prayer								1						1
Newark Pre-school Council								1	2					3
Parents' Group Area Three								1						1
U.C.C.								2	4	1	3			10
Committee for Negro Progress									3					3
Presbyterian Community Center									2					2
Peoples' Action Group			1						5					6
Kelley Civic Association									5					5

TABLE 2 (cont.d)

Name of Organization	58-9	59-60	60-1	61-2	62-3	63-4	64-5	65-6	66-7	67-8	68-9	69-70	70-1	Total
Bock Avenue Block Association									1					1
Area Board 2--Operation We Care									1	4				5
Area Board 4--Peoples' Action									2	4				6
Area Board 5									1			1		2
United Presbyterian Church									1		2	2		5
Crusade for Learning									5	8				13
Sterling Street Block Association									1					1
Weequahic Presbyterian Church									1		1	1		3
Area Board 2 Newark Business League									1					1
Black Man's Army of Liberation									2					2
Gibson Civic Association									3	2				5
Labor Negro Vanguard									1					1
Area Board 3 Educational Task Force									1			1		2
Newark Organization of Civil Rights									1					1
B.I.C.C.									1			1		2
Miller Street Community Council									1					1
Youth Organized Behind the Question of Blackness										1				1
O.N.E.									1	19	26	17	1	64
Title I										5	5	7	7	24
Black Women's Union										1				1
Title I Camp										4	1			5
Day Care Council										3		1		4

TABLE 2 (cont'd.)

Name of Organization	58-9	59-60	60-1	61-2	62-3	63-4	64-5	65-6	66-7	67-8	68-9	69-70	70-1	Total
C. Attucks Society										1				1
United Brothers										1		2		3
T.E.A.M.										1	1	1		3
Arthur Jones Association										1				1
Young Citizens for Racial Equality										1	1			2
Black Student Council										1				1
C.-F.U.N.											4	5	3	13
Interracial Council for Business Opportunities											1			1
M.A.R.C.											1			1
N.J. Chapter Florida A & M University											1			1
Community Information and Referral Center												2		2
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity												1		1
Shepard Avenue Block Association												1		1
12th Street Block Association												1		1
Newark Student Union												3		3
Washington Civic Association												3	3	6
Newark Community Coalition												7	10	17
Model Cities Housing Task Force												1		1
Central High School Debate Team												5	3	8
African Free School												2		2
South Ward Social Civic Association												1		1
Central Ward Athletic Association												1		1
S.A.S.S.												2		2
South Ward Voters League									1		2			3

TABLE 2 (cont'd.)

Name of Organization	58-9	59-60	60-1	61-2	62-3	63-4	64-5	65-6	66-7	67-8	68-9	69-70	70-1	Total
Concerned Citizens' Coalition													4	4
Springfield Avenue Community School													2	2
Central High School Student Council													1	1
Congress of African Peoples													1	1
Arts High School Students													17	17
Arts High School Board of Students Federation													1	1
African Education Alliance													2	2
Project W.H.O.													1	1
*Independent Negro Teachers' Political Association														
*Newark Branch of the National Alliance of Postal Workers														
TOTAL NUMBER OF APPEARANCES (BY YEAR)	9	31	43	29	35	26	22	22	92	90	72	105	65	641
NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS THAT APPEARED WITHIN YEAR	4	11	18	11	12	7	5	8	31	20	25	29	18	199

* Data on the participation rates of these two organizations was not available to the research team.

The Parker-Callahan controversy was the first community-wide issue that brought so many Black organizations and individuals together for a common cause. Prior to this, the largest single issue was the question of Black administrators, examination procedures and, specifically, the Flagg case. Support for this issue was not sought at the grassroots level, however. Individual churches and assorted civic-minded groups supported this issue initially, and not until 1968 was there broad-based community involvement with it.

PTA's are not included in this analysis of voluntary associations although they were quite active during the time the public Board of Education meetings were under observation (1971). This decision was made for two reasons: (1) the umbrella PTA organization was not itself a Black organization; and (2) local PTA's may or may not be Black depending on the composition of the particular school's student body. School and parent ad hoc groups are not listed among the 102 organizations for the same reasons. There is one exception, the Marcus Garvey (Robert Treat) School Council which was known to be Black for the entire time period. Individuals, those whose only form of identification was a citizen or parent, represent a significant portion of Black participation in public meetings of the Board of Education during this time period.

Between 1958 and 1971 both the total number of appearances of Black organizations before the Board of Education and the number of organizations that appeared annually steadily increased. The largest number of appearances took place in 1968-69, and the

largest number of organizations participating in such meetings took place in 1966-67. These years represent periods of unusual turbulence in the mobilization of the Black community--the Parker-Callahan affair, the rebellion and repression of 1967, the surfacing of an organized Black nationalist movement, and the campaign and election of a Black mayor.

Thirteen Black organizations account for 84.0% of all organizational participation by Black voluntary associations. TABLE 3 presents this information, and shows that organizations representative of local and non-local affiliation, single and multiple-purpose orientation, and nationalistic as well as integrationist frames of reference are included in this participation core. The meaning of this diversity and variability of organizations found in the vanguard of Black organizational participation is difficult to interpret. Factionalism being overcome by an overriding common predicament may be a practical explanation. This data establishes, on the other hand, that participation by Black voluntary associations in educational affairs is found largely in a relatively small cadre of organizations, that this cadre involved organizations of diverse organizational attributes, and that Black organizational participation in public meetings of the Board of Education was, in general, uneven and irregular.

TABLE 3

Major Organizational Participants, by Scope of Affiliation, Purpose, and Frame of Reference

	Integration		Black Liberation	
	local	non-local	local	non-local
Single Purpose	Crusade for Learning O.N.E. Robert Treat School Council	Title I	Arts High School Students	
Multi-Purpose	Clinton Hill Neighborhood Council Newark Human Rights Commission Weequahic Community Council	U.C.C. N.A.A.C.P. C.O.R.E.*	C.-F.U.N. Newark Community Coalition	

*Shifted orientation from integration toward Black liberation during the 1960 decade.

Summary

Two sets of data are used to demonstrate the pattern of participation in educational policy-making of an urban Black community. This pattern featured social processes which are conceptualized as racial conflict, change in the institutionalization of power within a school system, and the adaptive reorganization of the Black community within a hostile environmental setting. Metaphorically, the anguish of the Black community has been demonstrated in transforming group preference into effective educational policy within an urban environment. One is almost forced to the conclusion that the attributes of deviance, pathology, and malevolence should be attached to the societal and other macro-systems to which the Black community of Newark had to interact.

Starting from a pervasive sense of discontent, the Black community of Newark experiences a series of critical events during the period of time under study which informs it of possible consequences in the future, gives it purpose and unity, and forces it to create and use organizational structures to affect some control over its fate. The adaptive structure created takes an associational form of community organization. This system of voluntary association is heterogeneous in character and participates unevenly in the arena of educational policy determination. A solid core of organizations emerges in this participatory arena, one salient feature of which is a coherent ideological system of Black nationalism or Pan-Africanism.

Finally, the dependency of local educational policy-making upon fortuitous interventions from other local community subsystems, as well as from external sources at the state and national levels, is revealed. One example should be sufficient. Traditionally, in New Jersey, appointees to high level State committees which advise, develop educational policy, and make educational decisions serve without pay and are selected from upper-middle and high-income elites. From both of these conditions flow the assurance that Black community groups interested in educational issues will be estranged or isolated from effective access to or involvement with non-local centers of social power.

The Black community of Newark, between 1958 and 1971, was almost continuously involved in a conflict process. This conflict process was played out both within the Black community and between it and the non-black community. It contributed to the incremental mobilization and revitalization of the Black community through the adaptive utilization of an associational structure of organizational participation. The functional ability of this particular form of social organization to intervene with some success in educational policy determination was established.

Urban social structure is conceived theoretically as a consequence of a social process, and is held to be related to the array of behaviors, attitudes, values, and social networks which are also effected by the same social process. The form of the structure of

Black urban life consisting of the system of interpersonal relations--including friendships, neighboring ties, kinship, formal and informal interactions, and the like--among the individuals of the community remains to be studied seriously. This report is conceived as an attempt toward that end.

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